



Date: 8th of February 2021

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Thank you for submitting the manuscript, **“The Creation of Islamic Community Empowerment Translates Democracy (Shura) in the Da'wah Movement in the Reform Era of Indonesia”** to Linguistica Antverpiensia (Scopus, Q1 Scimagojr).

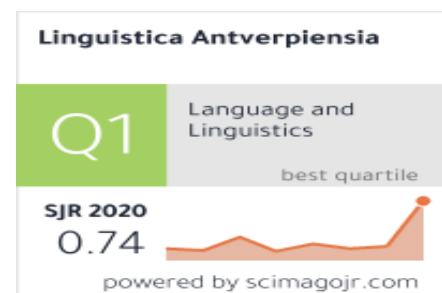
Now your paper is under review. We will contact you as soon as we get the referee report. If you have any questions, please contact us. Thank you for considering this journal as a venue for your work.

Yours Sincerely,

Prof. Hocine Adamatzky,

Editorial Office

Linguistica Antverpiensia





Date: 19th of March 2021

Dear **Abdul Syukur¹, Suslina², Wiwin Windayanti³**

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REVIEW REPORT

**Title of
paper:**

**The Creation of Islamic Community Empowerment Translates
Democracy (Shura) in the Da'wah Movement in the Reform Era of
Indonesia**

For sections A & B, please tick a number from 0 to 5, where 0 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree.

A. Technical aspects

- | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. The paper is within the scope of the Journal. | <input type="checkbox"/> 0 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| 2. The paper is original. | <input type="checkbox"/> 0 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| 3. The paper is free of technical errors. | <input type="checkbox"/> 0 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 5 |

B. Communications aspects

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| 1. The paper is clearly readable. | <input type="checkbox"/> 0 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| 2. The figures are clear & do clearly convey the intended message. | <input type="checkbox"/> 0 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| 3. The length of the paper is appropriate. | <input type="checkbox"/> 0 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 5 |

C. Comments to the authors (You may use another sheet of paper.)

Da'wah development as a cycle of political strengthening for the Islamic people group to
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make manifestations on the standards of decisions and the five standards of current popular government. The portrayal is as per the following: (1) The Direct Principle in races is deciphered as equivalent to the one individual one put rule. (2) General standards in races are deciphered equivalent to the rule of natural selection (3) The guideline of opportunity in races is deciphered equivalent to the rule of opportunity. (4) The guideline of mystery in races is deciphered equivalent to the standard of individual opportunity (5) The rule of trustworthiness in races is deciphered equivalent to the rule of people populi society dei (6) The rule of reasonableness in decisions is deciphered equivalent to the rule of one individual one put. The six standards of races that are in cooperative energy with vote based standards are another definition that the creator offers in da'wah siyasah wasathiyah, which is a da'wah development with moderate governmental issues to complete change and reformulation of Pancasila vote based system. The standards of legitimate and reasonable decisions address the ethics and morals of majority rules system, significantly different standards, for example, immediate, general, free and classified are likewise identified with genuineness and equity in races as the execution of popular government or individuals' power. With regards to the da'wah development, vote based change and reformulation in Indonesia sticks to the standard of amar ma'rif nahy munkar with regards to participatory governmental issues and majority rules system, and popular government that enables individuals (Islamic people group) of Indonesia. So the public improvement program and local advancement mirror the strengthening of the local area (town) in the change time so that their echoes keep on being carried out in vote based system and the arrangement of gotong royong government. Majority rule government in this arrangement of common collaboration is more viable as far as results and effectiveness being developed expenses for an equitable and prosperous country, and a protected country. This da'wah development is to offer answers for these vote based issues, by expanding the formation of social strengthening for the Indonesian Islamic people group in majority rules system so it will bring forth another detailing, in particular da'wah siyasah wasathiyah to help Pancasila popular government in races. The standards of da'wah siyasah wasathiyah are as per the following: (1) The guideline of divine nature (First Precepts of Pancasila) is the soul of confidence or religion as the strict establishment of Pancasila majority rule government in races. (2) The standard of humankind (the Second Principle of Pancasila) requires equity, genuineness, and trust are respectable person (adab) in Pancasila vote based system in the General Election. (3) The rule of solidarity (the Third Precepts of Pancasila) obliges the variety or majority of society by clinging to the rule of Bhineka Tunggal Ika, that is, we are one country. So the feeling of patriotism, love for the country is

important for confidence (center al-wathan minal confidence) as the guideline of Pancasila majority rule government in races. (4) The egalitarian standard (the Fourth Precept of Pancasila) addresses the delegate framework in Pancasila majority rules system through races and consideration carefully. (5) The standard of social equity (the Fifth Principle of Pancasila) is to maintain equity, on the grounds that the rule of reasonableness in races and the guideline of Pancasila majority rule government are focused on the acknowledgment of individuals' equity.

D. Recommendation (Tick one)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Accepted without modifications. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Accepted with minor corrections. | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Accepted with major modification. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Rejected. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Yours Sincerely,



Prof. Hocine Adamatzky,

Editorial Office

Linguistica Antverpiensia





Date: 19th of March 2021

Dear **Abdul Syukur¹, Suslina², Wiwin Windayanti³**

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We are glad to inform you that your research manuscript entitled **“The Creation of Islamic Community Empowerment Translates Democracy (Shura) in the Da'wah Movement in the Reform Era of Indonesia”** has been accepted for publication in Linguistica Antverpiensia (Scopus, Q1 Scimagojr).

This letter is official confirmation of acceptance of your research paper.

Yours Sincerely,

Prof. Hocine Adamatzky,

Editorial Office

Linguistica Antverpiensia



The Creation of Islamic Community Empowerment Translates Democracy (Shura) in the Da'wah Movement in the Reform Era of Indonesia

by Abdul Syukur

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2 The Creation of Islamic Community Empowerment Translates Democracy (Shura) in the Da'wah Movement in the Reform Era of Indonesia

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Abstract

This article seeks to explore the meaning of the creation of social empowerment which has been included in the scope of sociological studies (development sociology) into the realm of da'wah as the creation of Islamic community empowerment. Social empowerment has shifted the meaning of Indonesia's development during the New Order regime (1966-1998), and in the reform era (1998-2021) the echo of empowerment entered all lines of life, especially politics and religion. The political field is participatory democracy and decentralized power. Participatory democracy is a socio-political empowerment process that is related to the shura principle. The field of religion is a religious authority that contains shura for socio-political empowerment through the da'wah movement. Da'wah movement is an Islamic religious activity for the Islamic community to respond to the transformation of democracy and the creation of empowerment which is translated as development by prioritizing community participation and the support of social institutions, local wisdom, and the spirit of religion (Islam). Religious authority is the concern of da'wah thinkers and practitioners (ulama/da'i) in the study of da'wah in the field of Islamic community development, and its implementation becomes the creation of the empowerment of the socio-religious-political system of the Islamic community as the target of da'wah (mad'u). This empowerment creation is oriented towards political participation or democracy through the da'wah movement. The reform era has opened the faucet of democracy and there has been a process of democratic political institutionalization through general elections (elections). Previous studies argue that the reform era has seen a socio-political transformation from the previous era. In the reform era, the democratic process is more open, people's participation is more empowered, and power is decentralized. This literature research using qualitative-descriptive methods is directed at the socio-religious transformation that requires the creation of Islamic community empowerment by strengthening civil society groups, elected bodies, electoral systems, and functionally forming public administrations. The Islamic community must be able to oversee the creation of empowerment to strengthen the religio-political system based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The da'wah movement with a political approach (da'wah siyasah) offers a solution to the problems of democracy to create an ideal Islamic community (khairu ummah), namely the community. Who participate in democracy to maintain harmony, justice, and prosperity (amar ma'ruf); a society capable of preventing social conflict, disintegration, and intolerance (nahy munkar); and a religious society (tawhid). Faith (tawhid) as the foundation of the Islamic community upholds the commandments of ma'ruf nahy munkar to realize khairu ummah through da'wah siyasah.

Keywords: da'wah, Islamic community, reformation era, social empowerment creation.

1. Introduction

Social empowerment creations include studies within the scope of Development Sociology, and empowerment activities carried out by the Islamic community in religious development to transform democratic politics and participatory democracy into religious authorities. The study of religious authority (Islam) in its implementation through the da'wah movement. The study of religious authority in Indonesia has attracted the attention of academic groups and the Islamic community as da'wah actors (da'i) and da'wah targets (mad'u). The da'wah movement seeks to socialize the creation of empowerment in political life (democracy) through religious language (da'wah message). In the context of da'wah, the dissemination of religious content (messages of da'wah) is supported by the role of social media to strengthen religious authority in a more transformative, participatory, and decentralized democratic process. In the perspective of Da'wah Science in the field of Islamic Community Development (PMI), sociology is understood as a process of social change in which there is social interaction between the Islamic community and socio-religious institutions, local wisdom and the environment. Social facts in the study of sociology, in which there are aspects of language and culture when social contact and social interaction carried out by the Islamic community in preaching to realize an ideal society (khairu ummah) need to do social empowerment creatively. The context of da'wah to the target of da'wah does not only invite the empowerment of ritual worship such as prayer, zakat, Ramadan fasting, and hajj. However, also on the empowerment of social worship such as social participation in politics, democracy, economics, law, and other aspects of life. In empowering democracy in the reform era in Indonesia, the social interaction carried out by the Islamic community in implementing the religious sub-system and political sub-system (democracy) with the cultural sub-system (local wisdom) requires the creation of social empowerment to integrate Islamic values (da'wah messages) with cultural norms (local wisdom) to achieve da'wah, namely the realization of an ideal society (khairu ummah). Da'i actors (da'i) have religious authority to translate creations of democratic and participatory political empowerment by disseminating da'wah messages in the reform era which has so much free space and wider space than during the Suharto regime or the New Order rulers. Anggi Afriansyah explained that the study of religious authority (da'wah) in Indonesia has attracted the attention of groups of academics who have a tendency and are involved in Islamic studies raising various themes, from politics, education, economics, gender, new media, da'wah patterns, and others [1]. The pattern of the da'wah movement in the reform era in Indonesia is part of the spirit of Islamic studies carried out by the academic community and has even become a new spirit for the da'i community in conveying da'wah messages not only about ritual worship such as prayer, zakat, fasting, and hajj, but also religious messages, politics, democracy, elections, law, and systems of government. The transformation of the political and democratic system also demands changes in regulations so that the Indonesian Islamic community must also be able to create social empowerment with the nature of democracy in the reform era that provides wider opportunities for da'wah movements with national or state perspectives as well as religious insight as an integral part of the Indonesian religio-political system. It is urgent to study Islamic religious authority (da'wah) with a sociological approach to investigate social facts and current phenomena regarding Islamic political and democratic practices in Indonesia. Political practice that interacts with da'wah activities is an invitation to da'wah to implement politics and democracy imbued with Islamic religious values in the context of realizing public security and order, as well as justice and people's welfare as a form of khairu ummah. Realizing the khairu ummah requires da'wah with a political approach which means da'wah siyasah is a da'wah movement oriented to a religio-political system imbued with the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in synergy with the spirit of Islam. The da'wah movement in the reform era participated in echoing political transformation, the democratic process, and the reform of a more open, free and controlled government system. In this reform era, changes in the regulations of the political and democratic systems have also been made, which are also guarded by a religious spirit based on local wisdom values and nationalism.

In September 1999, B.J. Habibie was appointed president, replacing President Soeharto, he proposed revisions to three important bills on political parties, general elections, and the composition of the MPR (People's Consultative Assembly, bahasa: Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat), DPR (bahasa: Dewan

Perwakilan Rakyat), and DPRD (Regional People's Representative Council, bahasa: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah) Representatives [2]. The democratic process was further developed by presidents after President B.J. Habibie. President Abdurrahman Wahid came from religious circles (ulama/da'i community) and Nahdlatul Ulama figures, who were elected or appointed as President by members of the MPR in October 1999. Then he was replaced by Megawati Soekarnoputri (winner of the June 1999 General Election), at the Special Session MPR held on 23 July 2001 [3]. Under President Megawati, Indonesian legislators established the legal framework for one basic element of representative democracy -- an electoral system whose legal basis consists of Law no. 31 of 2002 (on party politics), No. 12/2003 (regarding parliamentary elections), No.23/2003 (regarding presidential elections) and 32/2004 (regarding regional head elections) [4]. However, just like other laws that are open to amendment through the political process, this election law was also revised in 2008 although its substance is still significant [5]. Preparation for the 2009 Election, under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who was elected in 2004, Indonesian legislators reworked the law on political parties changed to Law No. UU no. 42/2008. Although the 1999, 2004 and 2009 electoral systems allowed for more competition than previously held under the Suharto government, these systems have consolidated political party control over the electoral process [6]. Reforms in democracy require changes in legal political regulations. The election law states that parties are the only legitimate means of electing the DPR, DPRD, and the President, with exceptions for DPD (bahasa: Dewan Perwakilan Daerah) elections and regional head elections where non-party candidates can participate in elections [7]. The Indonesian legislator community who comes from the Islamic community has also colored the spirit of Islam as legal material or substance in formulating and carrying out legal political configurations. For example, the principles of General Elections, which used to be LUBER (bahasa: Langsung, Umum, Bebas, Rahasia) during the New Order, were added with JURDIL (bahasa: Jujur, Adil). The principles of LUBER (Direct, General, Free, and Confidential) and JURDIL (Honest and Fair) elections, where the word JURDIL (Honest and Fair) is the spirit of Islam which became the principles in the democratic process in the reform era. Although the democratic system gives the parties such an important power in reality they have to struggle to stand up even for their own structured party [8]. For example, in the selection process for legislative and presidential candidates in 2004, although parties are likely to maintain their highly centralized structure in the DPR and DPRD elections, the party structure is weak when it comes to internal candidates (internal party competitors) in the presidential election. In some cases, candidates have even stronger positions, such as Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono promoted by the Democratic Party and Megawati Sukarno Putri by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle [9]. Likewise in Pilkada to elect regional heads, pairs of candidates or candidates also have a relatively strong position, but there is a kind of decentralization in the process of selecting candidates from national to local party elections. The arrangements are similar in 2009, except that the party structure which was highly centralized in the DPR and DPRD elections was eroded due to the Constitutional Court (MK) Decree No. 22-24/2008. Indeed, since 1998, Indonesia's political life has become more democratic and vibrant, both at the national and local levels. The constitutional instrument has four times amended the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia during 1999-2002 and the introduction of an administrative decentralization policy in 1999 and then 2004 is very critical [10]. The latter substantially limited the dominance of the former central government in regional affairs, with broad devolution of powers to local administrative levels. As the central power weakens, it is assumed that the regional power becomes relatively stronger. This change of course affects the process of party transformation [11]. That is the description of reform in political regulation related to the process of political transformation in Indonesia.

The process of political transformation requires the creation of social empowerment to improve political education in a democracy that requires legal norms and religious norms in an integrated manner so as to produce political leaders who are trustworthy and maslahah. For example, when the leaders of national political parties were forced and persuaded to hand over some of their authority to local party leaders who began to voice their dissatisfaction with the balance between national party control and local party autonomy since 1999. This transformation process is very dynamic, based on the spirit of nationalism, local wisdom, and religion in an integrated manner. This is intended to maintain the integrity of the life of the nation and state as well as to prevent the occurrence of national conflicts, especially conflicts among the Islamic community. Conflicts in the Islamic community can occur because they have different views

and interests that are imposed, impose their political will, and lack a broad and comprehensive understanding of the substance of Islamic teachings. Religious understanding that is exclusively and rigid or rigid and narrow can give birth to radical religious understandings and even acts of terror in the name of religion, which are now continuing to develop the phenomenon of radical terrorist groups from the Islamic community. Islamic religious extremist groups who carry the doctrine of jihad which they mean qital (in the sense of war) in the form of acts of violence and terror (radical-terrorism) are the result of the blockage of aspirations and democracy in politics experienced during the New Order and Old Order. Most of them still think that Islam only regulates the affairs of human worship to Allah SWT, thus leaving social, economic and political affairs to other teachings [12]. In fact, as the implementation of faith (a Muslim's creed) it should be proven to do good deeds, both individual piety and social piety as well as being attached to a person or an Islamic community. Faith is a spiritual power that emanates from personal and communal behavior and activities or good deeds for adherents of Islam who are kaffah (Surah Al-Baqarah/2:208). According to 'Abdul Jabbar al-Hamazani, that faith (tauhd) is a basic principle in realizing good and preventing evil (amar ma'ruf nahy munkar), and effectively manifesting it in a religio-political system by carrying out a political approach da'wah movement called al-da'wah al-siyasa [13]. The political da'wah movement invites Islamic scholars to understand Islam comprehensively (kaffah). A narrow understanding of religion is a partial acknowledgment of the teachings of Islam; and this means neglecting many things in his life. It is not surprising that only a small part of it is believed and implemented. So most of the others use beliefs and concepts other than Islam which have more influence on their lives than the few who believe in them [14]. The teachings of worship are not only understood as routine religious rituals, such as prayer, zakat, fasting and hajj. This worship is generally understood as ritual worship ('ibadah mahdhah) is a special side of life. Meanwhile, social worship (ghair mahdhah) is general in nature concerning shared life such as economic, educational, cultural, political, legal, and other activities, which is worship which is much more broadly regulated in Islam, yet it is still ignored by the Islamic community. When ritual worship is carried out while social worship is abandoned, then this ritual worship closely follows the existing social, economic and political directions and mainstream [15]. Therefore, religion (Islam) and politics (democracy) are mutually reinforcing, religion needs political support to institutionalize Islamic values, and politics requires religious guidance to strengthen the democratic system or government. Political-religious practice in the history of Islamic politics was first introduced by the Prophet Muhammad SAW as Allah's Apostle as well as a political leader in Medina in 622-632 AD. The Prophet's political practice in the 21st century in the transformation of democracy in Indonesia is known as the Civil Society [16].

The history of the development of Islamic politics, since the Prophet Muhammad SAW., and the period after that, namely Khulafa al-Rasyidin (632-661), Daulah Islamiyah, namely the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties and dynasties large and small is called the grandiose period of al-Thawaif (661-1800).), and where the Daulah Islamiyah system ended in the Ottoman Empire (Ottoman empire) in Turkey (1924), to Daulah Syu'ubiyah (nations-states) in the modern period (1800-present) where countries in the Islamic world practiced politics. The difference in Islamic political practice (in the Islamic world) is not prohibited, because the holy book does not explicitly explain the textual form and system of state politics in Islam, except that Islamic politics emphasizes security for a country, justice and welfare for the people (QS. Baqarah/2: 126). Now there is no ummah leadership that can unite all the potential and energy of Muslims around the world, except it only happened during the time of the Apostle and Khulafa al-Rasyidin. The existence of Muslims today seems to be "foam in the ocean" not determining the current, but is determined by the current [17]. Political dynamics and the phenomenon of democracy today in countries of the Islamic world, including Indonesia, are tugging or fighting over discourses, hopes, and ideological-political interests among the Islamic community. There are Islamic groups who want to go back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad and Khulafa al-Rashidin and the Daulah Islamiyah. There are also Islamic groups who want political practice to follow political dynamics while still adhering to the values practiced by the Apostles, Companions, and subsequent generations. This is what makes the existence of the Islamic community seem to be "foam in the ocean" and therefore, the Islamic community must have the creation of acculturative and transformative political empowerment (accommodative politics). The latest political dynamics, in the era of reform and globalization, there needs to be creation of democratic empowerment in the countries of the Islamic world, including in Indonesia, which is

realized with the spirit of preaching so that the universal values of Islam embodied in the modern democratic process become a blessing for the universe. The presence of Islam wasathiyah (moderate Islam) is a propaganda strategy needed for the Islamic community in the midst of the diversity of understanding and practice of democracy in Indonesia in the reform era. The da'wah moderation strategy is also to moderate between the majority and minority religious adherents [18]. Democratic reforms in Indonesia need support for Islamic accommodative political transformation in the reform era. The Islamic community must be balanced in ritual worship and social worship, but in reality it is less creative in empowering social worship to support the democratic process. This is a sign that some Islamic communities have not carried out social empowerment in democracy in the reform era. In ritual worship, this community is gradually getting further and further away from its sunnah. In social worship, namely economics and politics, the Islamic community has mostly been deceived and tricked into not believing in the teachings of monotheism (shahadah to Allah SWT.), and even dared to oppose the monotheism that they believe in [19]. As a result, the Islamic community began to leave Islam and practice other ideas such as communism and secular democracy. If they prefer secular democracy to defending Islam in a democracy, then the Islamic community will experience difficulties in creating transformative and accommodating political empowerment. They will experience obstacles in realizing the *khairu ummah* in Indonesia. This is the challenge of the da'wah movement in motivating the creation of Islamic community empowerment in present and future life. The struggle of religious understanding (Islam) with communism is increasingly visible to the surface, where state affairs are to regulate public affairs, namely that individual rights are often taken away by the state and the state becomes the absolute ruler on behalf of the people [20]. Democracy should give full sovereignty in the hands of the people, full responsibility for the people to regulate and fulfill their own needs. However, the state or government becomes the absolute ruler on behalf of the people, so that there is social inequality, monopoly of wealth and welfare on one party or certain group, and justice is difficult to enforce, and prosperity is far from expectations. The description above leads to the main formulation of this problem, how is the creation of empowering the Islamic community in the da'wah movement in Indonesia in the reform era to create an ideal society (*khairu ummah*)? The purpose of this study is to explain the creation of Islamic community empowerment in the Indonesian da'wah movement in political-religious practice to realize *khairu ummah* in the reform era.

2. Data sources and methods

This article is the result of library research, is research that collects data from literature sources [21]. In accordance with the title and subject matter, this literary research comes from primary and secondary sources. Primary sources relate to da'wah science literature or Islamic studies. Secondary sources on sociological literature (development sociology) related to political and religious sub-systems to discuss the creation of social empowerment. In addition, literature on politics, economics, and culture. Sources of data are collected from books, journals, reports, and other scientific works related to the title of this article. Therefore, this literature research collects data using the documentary method, and the data is analyzed using the analytical-critical method to draw conclusions and recommendations. After the data is collected, then the data classification is carried out, and then the data is described based on the point of interest. After that, the data were analyzed using the analytical-critical method, and this method aims to critically investigate the circumstances, events, developments, and experiences in the past and weigh carefully and carefully about the evidence for the validity of data sources and interpretations or interpretations. analysis of data from the written statement of the [22]. This library research is called historical research where the data sources are collected in the form of documents. FR Ankersmit argues that critically historical writing is useful for tracing the truth about the past so that it can be useful for the present and the future [23]. The analytical method is also called the critical-theoretical-critical method, according to the school of Frankfurt that a historian should be involved in the consideration of the truth of what is wrong in our society today and give kan a donation so that the public can be improved. This school in critical theory argues that the attitude of involving oneself in the truth has political implications. Truth, reason, science, and expert opinion are not separated from the values and norms of good and evil [24]. Critical data analysis with the approach of da'wah science, history science, and sociology, is intended to draw conclusions and recommendations .

3. Community empowerment creation in democracy

Empowerment is defined as a process or effort carried out by a person or a community in order to increase their knowledge, abilities, and skills towards independence and prosperity. According to Meyer, the term empowerment departs from an objective reality which refers to the condition of an unequal social structure in terms of the allocation of power and the distribution of access to community resources. Empowerment is essentially an alternative to development which is formulated according to the paradigm of developmentalism [25]. The term empowerment has meaning in the context of development that involves more community participation. We understand that development (old term) and empowerment (new term) have different perspectives and beliefs in the process of democracy and development. In the old paradigm, development was more oriented towards the state and capital. In development, capital is everything that must be continuously nurtured even though it must be supported by authoritarian and centralized political management in the New Order. While the new paradigm, empowerment is more focused on the community and local institutions built by involving the community (social participation). Empowerment is development that is made in a democratic, decentralized, and participatory manner in the reform era. Thus, it can be understood that empowerment places the community in the main position and an open portion that initiates, manages, and enjoys development. The state in empowerment as a facilitator and opens a conducive space for the growth of local initiatives, participation, and institutions. Empowerment requires the active participation of the community in a democratic and decentralized development process that focuses on local communities and institutions. There are different paradigms in understanding community empowerment. Paradigm is a human perspective to interpret empowerment from the point of view of its interests, goals and objectives. The use of the word empowerment, from an etymological and terminological perspective, its essence and substance can be applied in the context of institutional, political, socio-cultural and belief (religion) [26]. The different paradigms regarding community empowerment can be explained as follows: First, the word empowerment is interpreted as a process of development, independence, strengthening the bargaining position of the lower classes of society against oppressive forces in all areas of life. Second, empowerment refers to the process of facilitating community members on a common interest, or business that can collectively identify targets, gather resources, mobilize action campaigns, and help rebuild community strengths. Third, the definition of empowerment is placing a standing position of a society. The community is positioned as not the object of the beneficiary because it can maintain dependence on the giver. But the community is played as a subject (change agent or active participant) to be able to act independently in the sense that it is not separated from state responsibility. And the state as a given continues to foster the community to be able to participate towards independence. The state in the sense of the government as given provides public services such as education, health, housing, transportation, and other infrastructure. Service to the community is an obligation or duty of the state. An independent community as a participant provides a more open space for movement and the capacity to develop creative potential, control the environment, and its own resources.

From the three definitions of the paradigm above, the definition of the third paradigm is about creative empowerment, in which the community is oriented towards active participation, the community is the pioneer of development, and the community is positioned more primarily as the subject of development, not merely the object of development. It can be understood that the creation of empowerment has three characteristics, namely: active participation, pioneer or agent of change, and subject of development. Therefore, the creation of community empowerment is that the community actively participates in engineering, adapting, innovating, and transforming in all fields of development, whether economic, political, legal, social, cultural, and religious development which is directed at achieving the goals of complete human development namely a sense of security, peace, justice, prosperity and prosperity. For example, community empowerment through a creative economy based on local wisdom with a case study in Kediri Village, Gadingrejo District, Pringsewu Regency, Lampung Province, Indonesia. This case study has been carried out by Rahima Sari that empowerment creations for the community managing bamboo creations in Kediri village, such as chairs, tables, shoe racks, dish racks, and other household utensils are the result of bamboo crafts. This is the creation of community empowerment in the economic field, namely the creation of the empowerment of bamboo crafts into various types of production such as

tables, chairs, and types of shelves [27]. This can be understood, the creation of economic empowerment in the bamboo craftsman community in Kediri Village produces various types of products. Thus, the creation of community empowerment is oriented to the active participation of the community aimed at improving, adding, being independent, and prospering their lives. In addition, local resources, local wisdom and social institutions are very important in the creation of social empowerment through various fields such as economy, education, poli²⁵, law, culture, religion, and so on. R. Aditya is active in the creation of community empowerment through the use of local resources by the company through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in Plaju Village, Palembang. This community empowerment creation applies four principles of human resource empowerment which are supported by institutional resources. The four principles of empowerment creation [28] include: First, the principle of equality, where men and women have the same role according to their field of expertise. Second, the principle of participation, which is the active participation of the community, and a stimulant for independence. Third, the role of self-reliance (independence), namely respecting abilities rather than the help of others. Being a subject and a creator is more important than being a recipient (object). Fourth, sustainable, where the role of mentoring is not more dominant than the community, is gradually diminishing and being removed because the community is able to manage their own activities through Community Self-Help Group as a center for activities, friendships or social interactions, creating new institutions such as the Mari Group Working, the Mari Kempalang Group with the aim of increasing capacity in these various fields. The four principles of creating community empowerment in the field of economic life in companies through CSR, both equality and participation as well as independence and sustainability can be applied to other fields, including the field of religion through the da'wah movement, namely the political approach of da'wah. Firda Fauziyah Febriyanah, Sri Mulyanah, Reni Firayanti explained that empowerment in the education and economic sectors is carried out with various programs (arts, crafts, and waste banks) to improve intelligence and people's welfare. Children who are economically disadvantaged can learn, so Sanggar Wuni Kreasi collaborates with social institutions and companies (CSR). This empowerment creation focuses on independence and social welfare to reduce poverty. Empowerment creations are directed at increasing work ethic, active community participation, and independent skills [29]. Firda and his friends have an interest in the creation of community empowerment in the fields of education and the economy, they offer creations of empowerment to achieve educational and economic goals, through collaboration and community participation, it requires a forum, in the form of an organization or social institution, namely Sanggar Wuni Kreasi.

The description of empowerment above provides an understanding that the creation of community empowerment can be carried out in various fields, by understanding the characteristics, methods and approaches, internal and external support factors, goals, and objectives. The author assumes that the creation of empowerment in the fields of politics and religion shows that the relation between the political sub-system and the religious sub-system can be carried out by the Islamic community through the da'wah movement. In the context of reform, participation, democracy, and decentralization in the reform era, the da'wah movement is aimed at the transformation of development towards empowerment, community participation in politics through elections as a reflection of democracy, independence and continuation of the da'wah movement with a political cooperation approach, fostering da'wah among da'wah and mad'u to create khairu ummah. Therefore, creative, active, and dynamic empowerment is carried out in and or through various fields of life such as economics, social and culture in various forms, requiring active participation, creativity, capacity building, and social adaptation to the social and natural environment. Provisional proof of the above assumption, that community empowerment needs to be adjusted to the direction, program, and development goals that favor the welfare and independence of the community. For example, development in Indonesia during the 1970s to 1990s underwent a development transformation even though political reform did not shift significantly. The decade of the 1970s characterized integrated development, the 1980s underwent a transformation towards rural community development, and the 1990s continued to turn into community empowerment. In the reform era, the echo of community empowerment in various development programs in the context of politics, law, economic education, culture, and religion continues to roll up to the ideological context. To prove this assumption, the author uses the results of Bambang Suprijadi's research. He said that in Indonesia there has been a

shift in discourse, paradigm, and development policy, from development to empowerment since the 1970s to the 1990s. In the 1970s it was integrated village development, which in the 1980s shifted to rural community development, and the 1990s continued to shift to community (village) empowerment until the reform era. In the reform era, development is more defined as empowerment in the context of participation, democracy, and decentralization. The paradigm of community (village) empowerment has a wider, popular, and trendy echo [30], especially in the reform era focused on empowering democracy, decentralization, and social participation. Based on the above description of the creation of community empowerment in democracy, the author interprets that community empowerment can be carried out by the Islamic community by applying the principles of equality, participation, independence, and sustainability in the da'wah movement with a political approach to transform the Indonesian-style religio-political system to realize khairu ummah in the reform era. The perspective of Nadlatul Ulama (NU) as the largest socio-religious organization of its followers in Indonesia and the world, that Wasathiyah Islam is formulated to include tawasuth, tawazun, i'tidal, and tasamuh. So the author initiated a new idea about the da'wah siyasah movement (political da'wah) in the creation of empowering the Islamic community in Indonesia to realize the khairu ummah by integrating the four principles of empowerment and the four principles of NU wasathiyah Islam. The configuration of the da'wah siyasah wasathiyah movement in the creation of empowering the Indonesian Islamic community in the field of politics or democracy is participatory politics and democracy that empowers people in all walks of life to realize the khairu ummah and a good state (safe, prosperous) and in God's forgiveness (baldatun thayyibatun wa rabbun ghafur). Khairu ummah longs for the realization of an Indonesian religio-political system that prioritizes active participation, equality of rights and obligations of men and women for Islamic social interaction (amar ma'ruf), increasing independence in a sustainable manner in social dynamics (nahy munkar), and based on the One Godhead. Almighty God, humanity in justice and civility, unity and integrity of the nation and state, participatory and humanistic democracy, and the principle of deliberation in decision making. In addition, it is based on the principle of social justice for anyone who has the status of a pluralistic citizen, resident, nation, society, or people of Indonesia.

4. Da'wah movement for the creation of Islamic community empowerment in democracy

Empowerment of democracy is defined as an effort to be independent in political participation or the sovereignty of the Islamic community. Empowerment of democracy is rolling for the Islamic community in Indonesia in the reform era. The paradigm shift of democracy in the reform era is due to the amendments to the 1945 Constitution and other regulatory changes in the democratic process such as changes to regulations on elections or regional elections that have an impact on other areas of life such as religion. There is a polarization of understanding about the relationship between religion and the state, Islamic politics such as the shura principle and Pancasila democracy. First, the group that maintains the relationship between religion and the state embodied in Pancasila (Pancasila democracy) and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, is called the moderate group. Second, groups that sue and fight for other ideologies, that the democracy that has been embraced (Pancasila democracy) and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia will be changed with the ideology of Islam and the state in the form of a caliphate or daulah, are called radical groups, like radical thought or radical action. The creation of empowerment in democracy means that the Islamic community is required to create a response to the dynamics of politics or the phenomenon of democracy in Indonesia in the reform era in order to transformatively maintain the values of Pancasila democracy in the life of the nation and state within the Republic of Indonesia which is imbued with religious values with the spirit of the da'wah movement. As for the da'wah movement in the context of democracy which is being polarized, it requires a community of da'i who are able to think, behave, and act moderately (wasathiyah) to maintain the Pancasila ideology as a reflection of Pancasila democracy and maintain the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia that is able to integrate and relate religion and the state. In addition, to prevent the spread of radical understanding of terrorism. For this reason, the wasathiyah da'wah movement or moderation of da'wah in the reform era in Indonesia is needed. The wasathiyah da'wah movement takes the form and approach of political da'wah (al-da'wah al-siyasah) which is oriented towards empowering the Islamic community in order to realize the khairu ummah. A da'wah expert, Abul Fattah Al Bayanuni wrote a book entitled Al-

8

Madkhal ila 'Ilmi al-Da'wah defining da'wah is the process of socializing the values of Islamic teachings (messages of da'wah) to all mankind, educating Muslims to be efficient, and carrying out the process of adaptation. According to the development of phenomena or situations and conditions in all aspects of social life [31]. The definition of da'wah shows that the process of empowering Islamic values (message of da'wah) can respond to social life and adapt Islamic teachings to the context of their time, including in today's democratic life. The effort³⁰ the da'wah movement in the context of democracy was initiated by Ali Mahfuzh, author of the book *Hidayat al-Mursyidin ila thurq al-Wa'z wa al-Khitabah*, that da'wah is defined as motivation to mankind on goodness and guidance, telling to do good (amar ma'ruf) and prevent from evil (nahy munkar) so that the Islamic community is happy in life in this world and the hereafter [32]. This definition contains an understanding that the da'wah movement requires active and dynamic community participation in the context of upholding the amar ma'ruf nahy munkar to realize state order and security, peace and unity and public welfare (al-mashlahat al-ummah). The da'wah movement aimed at the realization of al-mashlahat al-ummah means to characterize the ideal Islamic community, which is currently in the process of becoming a khairu ummah. The ideal society in the view of Islam is the khairu ummah which has three characteristics, namely: a society that actively empowers good values, a society that is able to prevent various forms of evil, and a society that holds fast to monotheism (religious society) as the implementation of the first precepts of Belief in the Almighty God. One. For¹⁵ al-Jabbar al-Hamazani that monotheism (God's Justice/al-'Adl¹⁵) is the foundation for upholding the amar ma'ruf nahy munkar, and the effective implementation of the amar ma'ruf nahy munkar results in realizing the khairu ummah through the institution of Imamah [33]. Imamate institutions are understood as state/government institutions [34]. Empowering local wisdom and social institutions (Imam institutions/government institutions and social institutions/organizations) can function as a forum for the participation of the Islamic community in preaching.

Empowerment of the Islamic community through the creation of da'wah movements in the context of politics and democracy in order to realize the khairu ummah. Efforts to realize the khairu ummah by adhering to the practice of democratic principles imbued with divine and human values, as well as the spirit of unity and deliberation so as to realize social justice. Thus, Pancasila democrac³ is the principle and philosophical foundation of the da'wah movement to realize the khairu um²⁸ ah. Pancasila as the philosophy of life for the Indonesian people, including the Islamic community in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (bahasa: Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI)), brings together democracy in Islam in Indonesia. Islamic democracy, Muhammad Natsir's term is democracy-theistic or theo-democratic contained in Pancasila. Democracy is a study of constitutional law (Staatsrecht) explained by Suwarma Almuhtar by quoting Logemann's opinion in his book entitled *Over de theorie van een stelling staatsrecht*, meaning "the law that regulates state organizations." State such as the system of government, the form and basis of the state, state institutions, elections, and so on. Democracy is a teaching that upholds human rights and is used as a measure of all matters in the life of the nation and state. Meanwhile, Islam makes human rights part of the abundant gift from Allah SWT. Loaned to humans as long as humans live by carrying out obligations to Him. The delegation of God to humans is a reflection of democracy in Islam. Even though democracy is considered a modern political concept and is seen as perfect in social, economic, and political life, people also use and promote it. It is this mainstream that is generally the way of life of Muslims around the world today [35] because nations-states practice more modern Western politics and democracy. They think that democratization in social, economic and political affairs will lead to worldly (temporal) welfare, which needs to be given the Islamic spirit so that it has an impact on ukhrawi (eternal) affairs. The¹² sense of democracy conceptualized by the Western world in modern politics is that the highest power is in the hands of the people so that between the people (who are controlled) and the government or rulers (who control) there must be a social contract in running the government to realize security and order as well as justice and prosperity. favor the interests of the people or the public. Thus, although Western democracy and democracy in Islam (shura) there are differences in the meaning of language, historical background, and substance content, there is no need to be contradicted, but a common ground must be found for the essence of democracy and shura so that creation of empowerment is needed to give birth to Islamic-religious democracy which is also called democratic-tesitic or theo-democratic. With another meaning, theistic-democracy is the result of

adaptation of the Indonesian Islamic community which is reflected in Pancasila democracy as outlined in the Pancasila precepts. Democracy in Islam or theistic-democracy argues that Islam also carries out political practices in the context of the state (siyasa, daulah, territory) adhering to the shura principle which means deliberation of the people with the ruler (sulthan) in matters of power (al-sulthah) aimed at upholding state security, justice and the welfare of the people. The principle of shura (Surah Ali Imran/3:159) has characteristics, namely: compassion (grace), gentle, polite (political ethics), forgiveness, and forgiveness (maghfirah) in deliberation to make joint decisions between the rulers and the people by adhering to the principle of trust in God. Islamic political experts agree that sovereignty is in the hands of God, and delegated to humans as representatives of God on earth.

In the context of democracy, it is humans who exercise power in the world as representatives of God (khalifa fi al-ardh, leaders on earth). Likewise, the Western concept of democracy states that **sovereignty is in the hands of the people** (humans). The term democracy (English: democracy) comes from the Greek, namely demos means the people, and kraton or kratos means government. Terminologically, democracy means power in the hands of the people. The people as the holder of the highest sovereignty in democracy, and God as the holder of the highest sovereignty which is delegated / delegated (mandated) to humans (rulers) to consult with fellow human beings (the people), which is known as a social contract. Shura is interpreted the same as a social contract is an agreement between political hegemony (ruler) and the people, and the ruler (sulthan) must side with the interests of the community (the people / al-ra'iyah). Here there is a similarity in meaning and essence between democracy and shura, even though the terms and historical background of the birth of democracy and shura are different. For this reason, the creation of empowering the Islamic community to run democracy (shura) is a social worship such as economics, law, politics, and the state, so that they get rewards, goodness, and will prosper in this world and the hereafter. This is a form of balance (tawazun) between worldly life which can have an impact on the life of hereafter. Therefore, never practice democracy that is wrong, do not deviate from Islamic values; **this is what democracy in Islam is called shura**. The concept of Western democracy that the highest **power is in the hands of the people** (humans); and shura as a concept of democracy in Islam that the highest power is in God. There is the sovereignty of God (shura), there is the sovereignty of humans or the people (democracy). There is no need to argue between democracy and shura because both have the same essence, namely sovereignty, where the sovereignty of God is bestowed upon humans, giving birth to human sovereignty to deceive and be creative in achieving goodness, rewards, welfare in this world and the hereafter. The balance of God's sovereignty and human sovereignty in democratic principles is to believe in God's teachings kaffah (comprehensively), not to play with and not to abandon God's teachings (Islam) which upholds the principles of democracy (shura) [36]. In general, democracy which originally came from modern Western political products, is basically a secular **democracy, in the sense that it is not built on the basis of** religious values (un-Islamic). However, secular democracy (temporal democracy) actually provides space for religion to move, to color secular democracy into democracy with Islamic characteristics. It is the Islamic community must be creative in empowering secular democracy to transform into an Islamic democracy. If there is no creation of empowerment in democracy that has been practiced so far in countries in the world, then what will happen is only to contradict the principles of democracy with Islam. The Indonesian state has found a meeting point between secular democracy and Islam, namely Pancasila democracy. Indonesia is neither a secular country nor a theocratic country, but a country that adheres to Pancasila democracy as a distinctive democracy in countries around the world.

5. The problems of contradictory understanding of democracy and moderate opinion

Modern democracy contains several principles, the principles of modern democracy which are widely applied to nation-states are also adapted to the characteristics of the nation and the potential resources possessed by each nation state in the world, including the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Modern democracy is not a final democratic principle, but at least until now it is seen as an ideal democracy. The problems of democracy arise if there is a contradictory understanding, comparing it in a contradictory way between this democracy and the understanding and teachings of a particular religion. But on the other hand, democracy has the same values and goals with certain religious beliefs and teachings.

Contrasting and equating in understanding democracy there are differences in viewpoints (paradigms). Differences of opinion of a person or the views of a group of people are very dependent on the paradigm in understanding democracy. Below are some of the principles of democracy which are understood contradictory which the authors classify as problems of democracy, as well as their moderate explanations as an effort to deliver solutions to the problems of democracy, are as follows: First, the contradictory problem of the one person one vote principle. This principle of democracy means one person, one vote. That is, every citizen who has the right to vote has the same rights, namely one person only has one vote. Opponents explain that equating people who understand how to run the country (leaders of the state) with people who do not understand how the state is managed (the people). Previously, one man one vote meant one man one vote. Initially democracy only recognized male voices while women did not. Their choices are generally based solely on who they know, who are close to them, who they consider smart, or who give materially [37]. This opponent of democracy builds an argument with the arguments of the Qur'an: "Say, are the blind and the seeing the same? Don't you think?" (Surat al-An'am/6:50). "Say, are the blind and the seeing the same? Or is darkness the same as light?" (Surat Ar-Ra'du/13:16). "Say, are those who know the same as those who don't know?" (Surat az-Zumar/39: 9). "And the blind are not the same as those who see. And darkness is not the same as light" (Surah Fathir/35: 19). From these arguments, then the opponents conclude their understanding that there are not the same people who understand in managing and running the wheels of government to take care of the people and all their natural resources, with people who do not understand. While democracy allows for placing people who do not have the ability to manage the country and lead the community because they have money and are famous for being leaders [38]. Moderate opinions build the argument that the principle of one person one vote democracy is essentially that every citizen who has the right to vote is the same. The principle of democracy is to uphold equality in political participation, not to differentiate political rights between the rich and the poor, between the intelligent and the stupid, nor to distinguish status, position, and degree. Thus, these arguments need to be criticized and returned to the essence of their meaning.

Second, the contradictory problem of the principle of freedom, including freedom of expression. This democratic principle means that democracy is built on the principle of freedom, including freedom of expression. Freedom of expression includes the freedom to choose (participants/voters) and be elected (paslon). The argument built by the opponents is that the best person is not necessarily elected to be the people's representative and leader because of the lack of support and voter votes. Meanwhile, people who do not understand how to manage the country are chosen only because they have the support and the votes. In fact, people who are clearly morally handicapped can be elected as leaders getting the support of the majority vote [39]. These opponents build an argument with the arguments of the Qur'an: "So ask the dhikr experts (who know) if you do not know" (Surah An-Nahl/16:43, Al-An-Biya/21: 7). Dhikr experts are people who often mention something or are experts on everything, not only often mention Asma 'Allah, they become experts in the field that they study critically [40]. Moderate groups explain that freedom is a democratic principle, and this means that every citizen who has the right to vote (voters/voting rights) is free to make his choice to whom he wants or to the candidate/paslon he chooses. Freedom of expression is more defined as freedom to choose according to one's conscience to the candidate/paslon. Freedom in the sense of freedom of expression is in line with the election principles, namely LUBER and JURDIL, especially related to the free principle, namely being free to choose candidates, without coercion. Third, the contradictory problem of the principle of folk populism. This democratic principle means that the voice of the people is the voice of God. Opponents say that this principle not only deviates from the teachings of democracy, which they say (seculars) do not take care of God's affairs, but is already polytheistic. Whereas the essence of Islamic teachings is to unite Allah SWT. and refuses to equate with anything. Rejection of the likeness of Allah SWT. with other than Him. The argument he builds with the argument of the Qur'an: "Say He is Allah the One. Allah is the dependent (of all creatures). Not giving birth and not being born. And is not equal (equal) to anyone (anything)" (Surah Al-Ikhlash/112:1-4). The principle of equating the people's voice with the voice of God is un-Islamic and even polytheistic. Moderate groups say that the democratic principle of the people's voice is the voice of God. To the rulers who have been elected by the people so that the rulers carry out their power with full trust and responsibility to realize welfare and justice for the people in the life of the nation and state. Fourth, the contradictory problem of the survival of the fittest principle. In this democracy there

is the principle of who is the strongest, he will survive. Who is strong, he will be in power. Strong in support, strong financially and strong in publication. It is proven that those in power in the system are people who have material power, not the best people and not people who are experts in managing the country [41]. Opponents build the argument that when viewed from the point of view of Islamic shari'ah there are many policies that are not Islamic. Whereas Islam teaches to choose the leader of the best people from piety, knowledge, and trust. He argues with the evidence of the Qur'an: "O you who believe, do not make those who make your religion a mockery and a game from the people of the book (who were given the book, namely the Jews and Christians) before you and the people of Islam. those who disbelieve (do not follow the law of Allah SWT.) become leaders. And fear Allah if you are believers" (Al Maidah 5:57). Moderate opinion says that QS. Al Maidah/5:57 can be used as a confirmation of democratic principles that emphasize the strength possessed by leaders, namely strength in the sense of being physically and mentally healthy, strength in holding on to trust and responsibility requires the strength of faith and piety, financial strength and social capital to strengthen his leadership in realizing the common aspirations of the people to build the ideals and goals of democracy in the life of the nation and state.

Umar bin Khattab taught that a strong leader is better than a weak leader. It means choosing a strong leader not because he is the strongest in wealth or support, but Islam teaches to make strong leaders including strong health, strong faith and taqwa, strong in carrying out his mandate and responsibility, strong His rules for justice, and other strengths. It is precisely this strong leader to protect weak people or people, they must be protected more and so that prosperity can be realized evenly. Opponents say democracy allows for the capitalization of power in government and sources of production including natural wealth [42]. The moderate group explained that the principle of survival of the fittest needed to be strengthened by the argument of the Qur'an, or the argument was a confirmation of the democratic principle. The leader or ruler must have strength, both physically and psychologically strong or physically and mentally healthy, strength in terms of the ability to lead and be a leader with finances, faith and piety and piety, the ability to protect and protect the people, and others for the security and order of the state and the community they lead, and the welfare of their people. There is no need to clash this democratic principle with contradictory arguments and propositions, but look for common ground or sides of common ground with this principle of naqal and reason, and local wisdom. Fifth, the contradictory problem of the principle of individual freedom. Democracy builds on the principle of freedom or personal will. Democracy places the individual at the center of all state policies, directions and steps. The principle of democracy is to guarantee individual freedom in democracy, namely freedom of opinion, voice and aspirations, making choices in politics and elections to choose candidates. Opponents argue that when the majority of society wants a case to happen, the state must follow its wishes even though some people will be harmed. The tendency of democracy provides a large space for the owners of capital to determine the direction of state policy in the political system and manage state assets [43]. So it is not surprising that the capitalists, whose numbers are actually a minority, control the majority of state assets, while the majority of people who own state assets fight over few assets. This is where politics affects the economy and the economy affects the politics or policies of the state. People in power determine the management of wealth, and rich people can determine the policies of people in power. Opponents say that Islam does not teach that. A moderate opinion explains that individual freedom in democracy aims to provide equal rights and responsibilities in the life of the nation and state. The social contract between the rulers and the people is the result of a consensus from individual citizens who are free to have opinions, voices and aspirations to the authorities to produce a common consensus in advancing the nation and state. Opponents argue that Islam wants all people to be taken care of, served and protected, no one should benefit unilaterally while others are harmed. Moderate opinion says that individual freedom is meant for the rulers in determining policies and making decisions on the basis of leadership principles inherent in their personalities, without ignoring the aspirations of the community and social contracts. Leaders or rulers are servants, protectors, and protectors for their people. In addition, Islam does not adhere to capitalism and does not adhere to socialism, but Islam brings together capitalism and socialism. That is, Islam allows and justifies individual ownership, but in individual ownership there are also rights that must be owned by others. For example, Islam justifies ownership of property for individuals, but individuals must issue zakat from their property, because in their wealth there are rights for others so that other

people (the people who are entitled to receive it, called *mustahiq*) can also have assets from the *nisab* of zakat issued by individuals (*muzakki*).

Individual freedom also pays attention to the rights and obligations for themselves and others, namely there is equality and justice in all aspects of social, national and state life. Because the individual as a leader or ruler is appointed by the people so that the ruler and the people have a social contract as well as the ruler as a representation or mandate of the people or society. This is in line with the argument of the Qur'an: "And fear Allah, indeed Allah is severe in punishment" (Surah Al Hasyr / 59: 7). "And the word of your Lord has been perfected in truth and justice. There is no change in His words, and He is All-Hearing and All-Knowing. And if you follow most of the people on this earth they will lead you astray from the way of Allah. What they follow is only conjecture and what they have is only what they invent" (Surah Al An'am 6:115-116). Islam is consistent with the commitment to equality of rights, protection of all parties and equitable distribution of welfare, does not allow any party to be privileged, and others to be suppressed. The political dialectic of understanding the democratic principles that oppose and moderate the above requires a meeting point. Therefore, the creation of empowerment in democracy for the Islamic community must be able to find common ground from existing differences by way of deliberation and harmonious dialogue. Deliberation (*shura*) and harmony are characteristics of democracy that are accommodated by Islam. To accommodate differences, it is also important for the Islamic community to carry out social empowerment in democracy through the *da'wah* movement, namely the *da'wah siyasah wasathiyah* movement. The Islamic community, on the one hand, is a *da'wah* actor (*da'i*) who must play an active and dynamic role, and on the other hand, the target Islamic community of *da'wah* (*mad'u*) must jointly create social empowerment in the context of democracy. *Da'i* are required to act as agents of change, facilitators, dynamists, and catalysts in empowering the Islamic community (*mad'u*) to participate actively and dynamically in the *da'wah* movement in order to realize the *khairu ummah*, namely they in the world get a sense of security, peace, justice, prosperity and prosperous, and they are safe in the hereafter as residents of heaven (*ahlul jannah*).

6. *Da'wah siyasah wasathiyah* movement for solutions to democratic problems

The definition of *da'wah siyasah wasathiyah* is a *da'wah* movement with a political approach (*siyasah*) that takes a middle way (moderate/*wasathiyah*) position, namely honest and fair participatory politics as a representation of state ideology to realize the ideals and goals of the nation and state. The ideology of Pancasila as the philosophy of life for the Indonesian people as a state, then Pancasila democracy needs to be fought for through the *da'wah siyasah wasathiyah* movement. In addition, this *da'wah* movement also responds to the reality of democratic practice through the political party system in elections in countries, including Indonesia, which must be directed at the goals of the nation and state. Historical facts prove that the party system has not been real in the succession of the leadership of *Khulafa al-Rashidin* after the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad. The party system began to emerge concretely to the surface of political practice in the Islamic world since the Caliph Usman bin Affan and Caliph Ali bin Abi Talib. During the caliphate Ali bin Abi Thalib there were two political party strengths, namely the Sunni group represented by Muawiyah and Abi Sufyan and the Shi'i group (*Syi'ah al-Aliyyin* means a political party that supported Ali bin Abi Talib, which then turned politics into a theological direction). The socio-political conflict between the two groups ended in the Siffin war and then a solution was found with *Tahkim* (Arbitration). This has caused the political costs incurred to be very large, thus encouraging the practice of nepotism that occurred during the caliphate of Usman bin Affan. In its development until now it is known as collusion, corruption and nepotism (bahasa: *Korupsi, Kolusi, Nepotisme* (KKN)) as part of the problem of democracy in Indonesia since the New Order era until the Reformation era which was born even though one of the goals was to eradicate KKN. The development of political practice with the party system as a representation of modern democracy which is followed by almost all countries in the world, including Indonesia, should be directed towards the welfare of the people, the lengthy implementation time and schedule of elections is inefficient, and the polarization of the people is increasing so that it triggers and lead to social conflicts between communities getting worse. So the dynamics of politics and democracy in Indonesia appear political alternatives in the electoral system, namely in addition to candidates from the path of political parties, as well as candidates from the

individual path, although the results have not been effective. Returning to the historical fact, that in the history of Islamic political practice, Khulafa al-Rosyidin (632-661M) gave us an example of the election of an ideal leader by means of election through community representatives. Not by direct election or election of political parties. Of course, the direct election method and strategy requires a number of criteria so that the election of leaders in Khulafa al-Rosyidin runs smoothly, although initially there was a polarization of democracy, but it has won wide support and success in the government program or Islamic political leadership. At that time, well-known political leaders with the terms caliph, emir, shultan, ulil amri were in office (president). The president is the political leader/power in the presidential institution (caliphate) named Khulafa al-Rosyidin. There are four people who serve in the presidential institution named Khulafa al-Rosyidin, namely the caliph Abu Bakr Siddiq who was elected directly and democratically, the caliph Umar bin Khatlab was proposed by his predecessor (khalifa Abu Bakar Siddiq) and elected by the political elite (ruling group / al-mala). What is known as ahl al-hall wa al-'aqdi is defined as a legislative body (in modern politics in Indonesia it is known as the MPR RI / DPR RI) until the election of Usman bin Affan and Ali bin Abi Talib as caliphs and so on until the Daulah Islamiyah system the Umayyad caliphs and the Abbasid caliphs until the destruction of the caliphate system during the Ottoman Empire in Turkey in 1924.

In the context of modern politics, in Indonesia that representation to elect political leaders/rulers is known as the term president (ulil amri), namely the presidential elections in the Old Order and New Order with a political party representation system for legislative members to elect and appoint the president and vice president by members MPR RI / DPR RI. But since the reformation era, the people have been directly elected to elect the president and vice president. Representatives of the people from each group, congregation, or organization and representing the interests of the community adhere to a party system called the shura assembly or ahl al-halli wa al-'aqd (legislative institution) in Indonesia known as the MPR RI, DPR RI, and DPD RI is the result of a legislative election in which the requirements and criteria are regulated by law, there are regulations. Candidates for legislative members and presidential candidates as well as candidates for vice president in executive institutions have ideal criteria, namely: people who believe and fear God Almighty, are trustworthy, competent in the affairs of the nation and state, and have environmental insight. In this representative system, the most important thing is to use a system or mechanism of deliberation based on the value of nationalism in synergy with the values of Islamic law. The highest decision according to its regulations or Islamic law (Islamic law) synergistic with election regulations is the result of deliberation from the Consultative Assembly and the People's and Regional Representatives (MPR, DPR, DPD) as state institutions which is the result of a study based on legal norms. Indonesia is a state of law, so all decisions taken must be based on law. Election regulations governing the implementation of elections and their results such as legislative elections produce members of the MPR, DPR, and DPD as representatives of the people (from Islamic and non-Islamic communities). The aspirations and interests of the people to be heard and accommodated in the life of the State. The leader must protect, protect and prosper all citizens without discriminating against race, ethnicity, culture, and religion. All state policies must be based on law and must not violate it. This non-party system, namely the emergence of individual candidates in the election of leaders (president and regional head). The hope is that it will produce an effective and efficient government, be faster, more firm and on target in decision making, save the budget, stay away from corruption with broad support and maintain the unity of the people. The government is focused on the welfare of the people, not for debating, doing political acrobatics or seeking political funds in the government [44]. Good and clean governance can increase public confidence so that a conducive climate in all fields will automatically find a place for this country and become an excellent role model for the international community. That is the practice of politics in democracy through elections that combine legal values, religious values, and cultural values leading to rahmatan lil alamin which was once practiced in the caliphate political system in a government institution called Khulafa al-Rasydin (632-661 AD) as the successor of the nuwuh political system, which was practiced by the Prophet Muhammad SAW in leading the Ummah State in Medina (622-322 AD). However, in the course of Islamic politics, changes have occurred in accordance with changes in society and the progress of civilization as well as the dynamics of politics and democracy in countries in the Islamic world, including Indonesia. After the development of the Khilafa system, the Islamic Daulah system was also born since the Umayyad State (661-750 AD) and the Abbasid State (750-

1250) until the last Ottoman State in the Islamic world was destroyed in 1924 [45]. Then, entering the modern period (1800 until today, the reform era) countries in the Islamic world adopted a political system (11) nationalism (syu'ubiyah system) in the form of nation states (nations-states) including the establishment of the Unitary State (33) of the Republic of Indonesia (1945 to 1945). The description above formulates that political practice in the Islamic world must respond to the dynamics of politics and the development of society and civilization according to the context of its era, so that currently the more ideal Islamic political practice, although not final, is the nationalism system as a continuation of the daulah system, the caliph (22) system and the prophecy system. Thus, the practice of politics and democracy in (10) elections to elect members of the legislature, president and vice president, as well as regional heads (governors and deputy governors, regents and deputy regents, as well as mayors and deputy mayors) awakens the Islamic community to have the creation of empowerment and social adaptation in political and democratic practice.

This study emphasizes socio-political empowerment as a process of maturity and independence carried out by an Islamic community in political life where democracy is a political implementation. That is, democracy reflects the political system run by the people or society in social-societal life. For this reason, efforts to realize democracy can be carried out with da'wah movements (3) effected at the creation of empowerment for the Islamic community to realize the khairu ummah in the life of the nation, state and religion in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia in the reform era is faced with the creation of empowerment in political life or the democratic process for the Indonesian Islamic community towards a democratic, participatory and decentralized socio-political life. This da'wah movement is aimed at rectifying contradictory understandings in the following democratic principles, namely: (1) The principle of one person one vote equating people who take care of the state (leaders of the state) with people who do not understand managing the state (the people) should be distinguished. This principle emphasizes that every citizen has the same voting rights in a democracy or makes political choices despite different skills (3) status, and position. (2) The principle of freedom, namely freedom of expression, means that democracy is built on the principle of freedom in all matters, including freedom of expression. Freedom of expression in question is the freedom to choose (20) (the people) and to be elected (candidates/paslon). (3) the principle of folk populism folk dei means that the voice of the people is the voice of God. This principle emphasizes the trust for rulers who are elected by the people. The people mandate the rulers (leaders) they choose to advance their nation and state. Don't get me wrong, that this principle deviates from the teachings of democracy, which is said (secularists) do not take care of God's business, but are muysrik. (4) the principle of survival of the fittest means that democracy is carried out with the principle of who is the strongest, then he will survive; who is strong, then he will be in power. Strong leaders are more important than weak leaders. Such as physically and mentally healthy, strong faith and piety (religion), strong financial and social capital, strong leadership and political relations, and others. (5) the principle of individual freedom in democracy which teaches that democracy is built on personal freedom and desire. This democratic principle emphasizes that every individual citizen has the right to make his/her choice in a LUBER and JURDIL election, there should be no pressure and coercion (11) from any party. The five principles of modern democracy are embraced and realized by countries in the world, including Indonesia in elections. The transformation of democracy in the reform era has also been carried out by revising regulations on elections. Such as Pilleg, Pilpres, and Pilkada. In fact, the terms Simultaneous General Election/Lilkada and Continuing Simultaneous General Election/Pilkada in Indonesia's reform era since the 2015 elections, 2018, 2020 even up to 2024 and 2027. Elections in the reform era follow election principles, namely LUBER and JURDIL, which previously only adhered to the principles of -the LUBER election principle in the New Order. The election principles, namely Direct, General, Free, and Confidential (LUBER) in the pre-reformation period, were reinforced by the principles of Honest and Fair Elections (JURDIL), so that in the reform era adhering to the principles of LUBER and JURDIL elections meant that there had been creation of empowerment. politics in elections in the reform era. The da'wah movement in the reform era was aimed at the creation of empowering the Islamic community to understand the principles of elections with the principles of modern democracy. Da'wah movement as a process of political empowerment for the Islamic community to create creations on the principles of elections and the five principles of modern democracy. The description is as follows: (1) The

Direct Principle in elections is interpreted as the same as the one person one put principle. (2) General principles in elections are interpreted the same as the principle of survival of the fittest (3) The principle of freedom in elections is interpreted the same as the principle of freedom. (4) The principle of secrecy in elections is interpreted the same as the principle of individual freedom (5) The principle of honesty in elections is interpreted the same as the principle of folk populi folk dei (6) The principle of fairness in elections is interpreted the same as the principle of one person one put.

The six principles of elections that are in synergy with democratic principles are a new formulation that the author offers in da'wah siyasah wasathiyah, which is a da'wah movement with moderate politics to carry out reform and reformulation of Pancasila democracy. The principles of honest and fair elections represent the morals and ethics of democracy, even other principles such as direct, general, free and confidential are also related to honesty and justice in elections as the implementation of democracy or people's sovereignty. In the context of the da'wah movement, democratic reform and reformulation in Indonesia adheres to the principle of amar ma'rif nahy munkar in the context of participatory politics and democracy, and democracy that empowers the people (Islamic community) of Indonesia. So that the national development program and regional development reflect the empowerment of the community (village) in the reform era so that their echoes continue to be rolled out in democracy and the system of gotong royong government. Democracy in this system of mutual cooperation is more effective in terms of results and efficiency in development costs for a just and prosperous nation, and a safe country. This da'wah movement is to offer solutions to these democratic problems, by increasing the creation of social empowerment for the Indonesian Islamic community in democracy so that it will give birth to a new formulation, namely da'wah siyasah wasathiyah to support Pancasila democracy in elections. The principles of da'wah siyasah wasathiyah are as follows: (1) The principle of divinity (First Precepts of Pancasila) is the spirit of faith or religion as the religious foundation of Pancasila democracy in elections. (2) The principle of humanity (the Second Principle of Pancasila) requires justice, honesty, and trust are noble character (adab) in Pancasila democracy in the General Election. (3) The principle of unity (the Third Precepts of Pancasila) accommodates the diversity or plurality of society by adhering to the principle of hineka Tunggal Ika, that is, we are one nation. So that the sense of nationalism, love for the homeland is part of faith (hub al-wathan minal faith) as the principle of Pancasila democracy in elections. (4) The populist principle (the Fourth Precept of Pancasila) represents the representative system in Pancasila democracy through elections and deliberation wisely. (5) The principle of social justice (the Fifth Principle of Pancasila) is to uphold justice, because the principle of fairness in elections and the principle of Pancasila democracy are aimed at the realization of people's justice. Justice does not belong to the strong individual/group, but also to the weak, because justice belongs to all Indonesian citizens. The idea of a new paradigm regarding da'wah siyasah wasathiyah is a da'wah movement for the creation of social empowerment for the Islamic community in Indonesia in understanding, responding and carrying out political participation in democracy in the reform era. They are invited to be able to combine the principles of democracy and the democratic values of Pancasila with the Islamic principles of wasathiyah or religious moderation. The principles of wasathiyah democracy in Pancasila democracy are sourced from sources of Islamic teachings, namely the Qur'an and Hadith as well as Ijma and Qiyas. Sources from other religious sacred texts about the teachings of democracy, nationalism, and patriotism. Other sources include legal norms, cultural values (local wisdom), and social phenomena. In the context of da'wah siyasah wasathiyah that these sources are called da'wah messages wasathiyah are da'wah materials that are accurate to local wisdom and religious sacred texts about nationalism and democracy, and social phenomena are situations and conditions that have been, are, and will be. Thus, this da'wah message includes textual messages and contestual messages about politics and democracy. The formulation of da'wah siyasah wasathiyah is aimed at the realization of khairu ummah in socio-political life and Pancasila democracy with the spirit of religious (Islamic) values and locality.

Islamic scientists (ulama), such as Al-Mawardi have formulated the concept of democracy with the principle of shura as a social contract between the rulers and the people. Al-Mawardi's theory of democracy is contained in the Kitab Al-Ahkam al-Suthaniyah that the essence of democracy in Islam (shura) contains the principle of equality and social contract for the realization of welfare and social justice, namely the realization of the benefit of the people (society). Rulers as holders of political

hegemony carry out social contracts with the people (society) through representatives, namely *ahlul halli wal 'aqdi* [46]. The *ahlul halli wal 'aqdi* institution is substantially the same as the legislative body: MPR, DPR, DPD RI). Al-Mawardi's democratic theory can contribute to the enrichment of *da'wah* material in the *siyasah wasathiyah da'wah* movement. *Da'wah* here means that the process of social empowerment is oriented towards empowering politics and people's lives. Loving the religion that is believed and practiced, must also be realized by loving the nation and country. Democracy must also be aimed at people's sovereignty with state rights and religious rights. Prophet Ibrahim bequeathed democracy to love his country and nation in order to be a safe country and its people prosperous and prosperous (Surah Al-Baqarah/2: 126). Democracy in Islam is understood as the principle of *shura* to be urgent in the principle of the *da'wah* movement (*da'wah siyasah wasathiyah*). The goal is to make the country orderly and safe, and its people prosperous, just and prosperous. This *da'wah* movement seeks to encourage participation and invites the public, especially the Islamic community, that democracy discusses all matters of the nation, the people and the state by way of deliberation wisely, upholding the populist system led by wisdom to decide everything (QS. Ali Imran/3: 159) concerning the needs of many people, namely the life of society, nation and state. The concept of *da'wah siyasah wasathiyah* as the development of *da'wah* with moderate politics, comes from the *fiqh* of *da'wah*, namely *da'wah* with a political approach. *Fiqh da'wah* was initiated by Muhammad Natsir, a scholar and statesman, who wrote a book entitled *Fiqh Da'wah* (1978). According to him, a *da'i* (*da'wah* actor) must build his nation and country based on the principles of Islamic teachings in faith and worship which are reflected in a safe, peaceful, prosperous, just and prosperous social life [47]. The *fiqh* of *da'wah* that inspired the concept of *da'wah siyasah wasathiyah* essentially invites the public to empower democracy with the democratic principles of Pancasila in synergy with the *shura* principle which is described in the principles of *wasathiyah* Islam. The development of *da'wah* is a response to the development of civilization and changes in people's behavior and thought patterns. Regeneration of society such as the millennial generation always likes change and is bored with the establishment. Changes in mass media make the millennial generation move to social media so that they demand the development of *da'wah* (development of *da'wah*) [48]. Such as *siyasah fiqh* and *da'wah fiqh* developed into *siyasah wasathiyah da'wah* in preaching in the reform era. *Da'wah* in the reform era is a process of empowering the principles of *shura* (QS.3: 159) in the theory of Constitutional Law (*Fiqh Siyasah*) and *Fiqh*. *Da'wah* includes: compassion (grace), gentleness (political ethics), and deliberation to reach consensus. . These *shura* principles are a message of *da'wah* to discuss all matters with determination (maintaining the principle of togetherness even though there are differences of opinion) and kindness refers to the highest general legal norm (ground norm), namely the Qur'an and Hadith, *Ijma* and *Qiyas* as sources. *Da'wah* message to empower democracy in Indonesia. The ground norm of *da'wah* messages in *da'wah siyasah wasathiyah* is a new idea for the creation of Islamic community empowerment in responding to dynamics, phenomena, and social facts about the democratic process in Indonesia in the reform era. This new idea of *wasathiyah* democracy can be practiced in the *da'wah* movement to transform democracy based on Pancasila and democracy in Islam (*shura*) in the context of realizing the *khairu ummah* in Indonesia in the reform era.

7. Conclusion

The results of the discussion of this article provide a general conclusion that the creation of Islamic community empowerment in the *da'wah* movement aims to increase active and dynamic participation in the democratic process by reforming and reformulating Pancasila democracy through elections to elect leaders in the legislative and executive institutions in Indonesia, to realize the ideals and goals of democracy for the Islamic community, namely the realization of an ideal society (*khairu ummah*) in the reform era. Reform and reformulation of democracy in Indonesia in the reform era requires the creation of Islamic community empowerment in the field of *da'wah*, namely the birth of a new paradigm of *da'wah siyasah wasathiyah*. The creation of the empowerment of the Islamic community in the political field can be done with the *da'wah siyasah wasathiyah* movement as a solution to the problems of democracy in the principles of modern democracy and Pancasila democracy. This *da'wah* movement as a solution, is the message of *da'wah* directed at the accommodative integration of the two democracies by creating democratic empowerment for the Islamic community, where the *da'i* socializes the message of *da'wah* to *mad'u* as follows: First, the creation of Islamic community empowerment in the *da'wah* movement in

Indonesian political life in the reform era to create an ideal society (khairu ummah) is that they actively and dynamically participate in the democratic process through elections to elect leaders who bring progress to the nation, namely prosperous, justice and prosperous, and the progress of the state, namely order, security, and state defense to protect and protect the people. Democracy in the da'wah siyasah wasathiyah movement gave birth to wasathiyah democracy as an effort to provide solutions to democratic problems as well as to progress in the life of the nation, state, and religion in accordance with the ideals and goals of Pancasila democracy which is more reformatory, aspirational, transformative, and decentralized. Second, the creation of social empowerment in the political field for the Islamic community in the da'wah movement can be done by integrating the principles of modern democracy and the democratic values of Pancasila with the shura principle formulated in wasathiyah Islam or religious moderation. This shura principle is able to respond to the party system, the democratic process in a representative manner and directly through elections, namely by making changes to regulations regarding elections that must be in line with the spirit of Indonesian reform in democracy so that the realization of democratic ideals and state goals can be accommodated in the concept of khairu ummah. The concept of an ideal society -- in modern democracy and Pancasila democracy -- is interpreted as khairu ummah which is a representation of wasathiyah democracy that is able to accommodate modern democracy and Pancasila democracy in Indonesia in the reform era. Fourth, the Islamic community must be able to oversee the creation of social empowerment and adaptation to strengthen the Indonesian-style religious-political system based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution through a moderate political da'wah movement (da'wah siyasah wasathiyah) to create an ideal Islamic community (khairu ummah). The characteristics of the khairu ummah are: (1) people who participate in democracy for the good, namely harmonious, just, and prosperous, a safe, and orderly country (amar ma'ruf); (2) a society capable of preventing social conflict, disintegration, and intolerance (nahy munkar); and (3) religious (Islamic) communities, namely maintaining religious harmony, being able to acculturate with local wisdom, and tolerance in responding to differences and diversity of ethnicity, culture, language, religion, and political choices.

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The Creation of Islamic Community Empowerment Translates Democracy (Shura) in the Da'wah Movement in the Reform Era of Indonesia

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Abstract
 This article seeks to explore the meaning of the creation of social empowerment which has been included in the scope of sociological studies (development sociology) into the realm of da'wah as the creation of Islamic community empowerment. Social empowerment has shifted the meaning of Indonesia's development during the New Order regime (1966-1998), and in the reform era (1998-2021) the echo of empowerment entered all lines of life, especially politics and religion. The political

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